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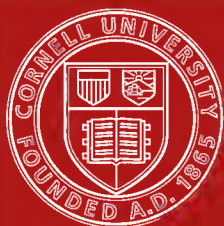
ROGER WILLIAMS.

BY

REUBEN ALDRIDGE GUILD.

(Reprinted from the Providence Journal.)

MAY, 1886.
TIBBITTS & PRESTON,
PROVIDENCE, R. I.



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FOOTPRINTS OF ROGER WILLIAMS.

I.

IN all the early history of New England, no one name stands out so prominent to-day in the eyes of the civilized world, as that of the illustrious founder of "Rhode Island and Providence Plantations." Two hundred and fifty years have elapsed since he landed upon these shores; and the great principles which he annunciated and developed of civil and religious freedom, have come to be the foundation of every democratic republic in Christendom. The great civic anniversary, to which thousands are looking forward with quickened zeal, will tend to bring out facts and illustrations pertaining to his early life and subsequent career, which have heretofore perhaps been obscure and unknown.

The only thing that seems settled in regard to the early surroundings of Roger Williams is that he was of Welsh origin. It has always been supposed that he was of humble parentage, the place of his birth being unknown, and the date uncertain. It occurred to the writer during a recent vacation to make some investigations on this point, the clue having been furnished him by the late J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston. He first visited the rooms of the New England Historic-Genealogical Society, No. 18 Somerset Street, where, through the courtesy of the Librarian (all librarians are courteous), he was permitted to examine the "Publications of the Harleian Society," of London, consisting of a series of pedigrees and heralds' visitations. The ninth

volume published in 1874 is entitled, "The Visitation of Cornwall, 1620;" edited by Colonel Vivian and Dr. Drake. In a foot-note on page 264 he found a record of the baptism of two sons of William Williams, together with that of a grandson and a great-grandson, as follows :

"Willyam Williams, son of Mr. William Williams, baptized 27th November, 1598 ; Roger, second son of William Williams, Gentleman, baptized 24th July, 1600 ; Humphrey, son of William Williams, baptized 24th April, 1625 ; John, son of Humphrey Williams, Gentleman, baptized at High Bickington, Devonshire, 1660."

These records are taken from the register of the Parish church of Gwinear, a small town in Cornwall, near Truro. Their authenticity is vouched for by the Vicar of the church in a letter to Mr. Thornton, dated "Gwinear Vicarage, Cornwall, April 12th, 1877." It would thus appear that Roger Williams was born in the town of Gwinear, Cornwall, and of a good family. The Williams family, it is well known, were very prominent in Cornwall, Devonshire, Monmouthshire, and throughout Wales. In Burke's "Extinct Peerages of Great Britain" is an account of Baron Williams, of Thame, and of Sir Richard Williams, Knight, who assumed the name of Cromwell, and was ancestor of the Protector. In Guillim's "Display of Heraldry" and in Burke's "Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies," are many pages giving an account of different branches of this Welsh name, of whom Bishop Williams, of Lincoln, afterwards Archbishop of York, was a member. Guillim describes the coat of arms of William Williams, of Glan-y-wan and Dyffryn, in the Lordship of Denbigh. Sir Roger Williams, after whom the founder of Rhode Island was undoubtedly named, was the proprietor of Llangibby Castle and the Priory of Uske, in the county of Monmouth. He was a brave officer

in the reign of Elizabeth, and by her knighted in 1586 for his gallantry. Motley speaks of him in his "History of the Dutch Republic." "He might," says Camden, "have been compared with the most famous captains of our age, could he have tempered the heat of his warlike spirit with more wariness and prudent discretion." He died at London, in 1595, and was buried in state at St. Paul's. His remains were afterwards taken to his castle in Monmouthshire. His namesake, if he did not inherit his honors, certainly had a like disposition, that sometimes led him to occasional acts of rashness in his controversies in after life with those who opposed him.

The date of the birth of Roger Williams may safely be fixed, in view of these parish records, as 1600. It has generally been given as 1599. As the year commenced at this time on the 25th of March, this might be the date for January, February, and the greater part of March, and yet be 1600 as dates are now reckoned. Concerning his youth and education we need not here speak, leaving it for his biographer to give those ampler details, which make Masson's Life of Milton so interesting. It is enough for our present purpose to state that he was converted, in the language of religious writers, at an early age; that he espoused the cause of the Puritans, or Dissenters, and that for this reason, his father probably being a high "churchman," he was "persecuted," using his own words, "in and out of his father's house these twenty years." At the age of fourteen we find him in the "Star Chamber" at London, taking notes of the speeches, where he attracted the attention of his future patron, Sir Edward Coke. By him he was placed in the "Charter House School," being the second scholar whose name was entered upon the records of that noble institution. This was in 1614. Here he probably remained until he was eighteen or nineteen, the rules of the institution, at the present day at least, not allowing a pupil to remain after that

age. In 1624, he entered Pembroke College, Cambridge. The writer has visited this School and also Pembroke College, and has seen at the latter place the entries made by Williams in his own peculiar handwriting.

In our next we propose giving some account of "Footprints" in Salem and Seekonk.

II.

SALEM, the most ancient town of Massachusetts Bay, has special attractions for Rhode Islanders, for here, and in Plymouth, the illustrious founder of the State spent five years of his eventful life. A passenger in the good ship Lyon, from Bristol, England, he arrived in Boston harbor on the 5th of February, 1631. He was then in the prime of manhood, with a vigorous intellect trained and disciplined in the best schools of his time, and with moral convictions fixed by the persecutions and oppositions from which he had fled. His arrival gave the infant colonists great joy, for he had been known to Winthrop and his associates in England, as a "godly minister" of gifts and learning. At once they elected him their spiritual teacher and guide. But finding them "upon examination and conference" an unseparated people, Williams in a few weeks left them for Salem, where the uncompromising Separatist, Governor Endecott, with his little company of followers, had three years before effected a permanent settlement. On the 6th of August, 1629, they had organized a church and elected Samuel Skelton, pastor, and Francis Higginson, teacher. The latter died on the 15th of March, 1630, and on the 12th of April, 1631, "Roger Williams," says Bentley, "became their minister." We have neither time nor space to trace in these articles his subsequent career. This the orators of the great celebration at hand will undoubtedly do. Our present purpose is to examine some of his footprints, if we may so term them.

Entering the city by rail, and walking out of the depot to the right, we soon reach the corner of Washington and Essex streets. Here stands a fine brick structure, a marble tablet

on the western face of which tells us that it is the "First Church," on the site of the first house of worship built in the Massachusetts Colony. Here Williams preached, and in glowing language gave utterance to those grand principles of religious freedom, which are now the heritage of the civilized world. On another tablet we read as follows: "The frame of the first 'Meeting [House,]' in which the civil affairs of the colony were also transacted, is preserved, and now stands in the rear of Plummer Hall. It was enlarged in 1639. The second Meeting House was built in 1670, the third in 1718, the fourth in 1826 — all on this spot."

Turning to the right into Essex street, and walking a few moments, we reach Plummer Hall on the left. The lady in charge kindly hands us a queer looking key with an old-fashioned piece of wood attached. Going to the rear, and unlocking a door, we find ourselves in this most ancient and worshipful shrine, the original "Roger Williams Church." It is indeed a quaint structure, twenty feet in length, seventeen in width, and twelve in the height of its posts. It once had a gallery over the door at the entrance, and a minister's seat in the corner opposite. Perhaps one hundred persons could have been seated within its walls, the gallery included. The original seats are not preserved. They were very rough, if in keeping with the rest of the building. Very likely they were split logs without backs. On the wall opposite the entrance we read in prominent letters the succession of pastors: Francis Higginson, 1629-1630; Samuel Skelton, 1629-1634; Roger Williams, 1631-1635; Hugh Peters, 1636-1641, etc.

We had come to Salem for the first time on a pilgrimage to this spot. As we looked around us, our minds were filled with veneration, and we could but appropriate the words of a recent writer in *Harper's Weekly*: "Within these walls, silent with the remembered presence of Endecott, Skelton, Higginson, Roger Williams and their grave compeers, the

very day seems haunted, and the sunshine falls but soberly in. The visitor seems to close the door upon the bustle and complacency of his own time, and by some subtle spell of sympathy to find himself standing at last in mute and intelligible relations to the firm, integral life to which he owes so much. Quaint and in keeping as are the visions that the suggestiveness of the place conjure from out the resources of his memory, there is yet in them all no longer so bald a sense of Puritanic affectation or constraint; the bare timbers of these narrow precincts evince a necessity that was in itself denial; and he remembers vividly, as if for the first complete time, that the souls that met God here were sadly weary of a colder intercession."

Within this ancient structure are stored many specimens of furniture, and relics of the olden times. Among them is a sofa brought from Normandy by some of the French Huguenots; the communion table of the East Church, Salem, in 1718; a small stand which belonged to Deacon Gerrish in 1682; a pew door from the meeting house in Hingham, built in 1680; the sounding board of the East Church, etc. Chairs of the antique pattern carry us back to the home circle gathered about the blazing fire of the huge old fire places, while the spinning wheel speaks of the music which the pastor heard in his friendly calls.

The history of this venerable shrine is interesting. From 1629 to 1634 the congregation worshipped in an unfinished building, of one story. In the beginning, it being mid-summer, they may have met, as did the little band at Providence a few years later, beneath some friendly trees, or in a grove. In cold weather or on stormy Sundays they may have assembled in the spacious kitchen of Governor Endecott, and listened to the Word around the fire of blazing logs. The records show that in 1634 they contracted with Mr. Norton to build a suitable meeting house for £100. The trees, it appears, were felled in the winter, and in the

summer of 1635 the building was erected. Its glazed windows were not added until 1637, having been ordered from England the year previous. In 1639 it was enlarged to twice its original size. On the erection of the second edifice, in 1670, it was removed, and for a century and a half occupied for a school, a dwelling or an inn, and afterwards as a barn and place of stowage. In 1860 a committee under the direction of the Essex Institute, having ascertained in regard to the authenticity of the traditions and records of the old building, carefully removed the several parts to this present site, "dressed the wounds inflicted by time," and erected them into their original positions and form. There the building now stands, in the language of the committee in making their final report, "*Santissima casa.*" Fitted up internally and externally as nearly as possible to its original appearance, and made accessible to the public, it invites a pilgrimage from the sons and daughters of New England, who value our peculiar history, and the preservation of memorials connected therewith.

III.

ON the 6th of September, 1628, John Endecott, of Dorchester, England, with his little company of followers, arrived at Naumkeag, or Salem, and laid the foundation of the first permanent town within the limits of the Massachusetts Patent. Judge Story, in his eloquent discourse in commemoration of this first settlement, thus vividly describes the scene presented to the view of the emigrants as they landed upon the shores of New England in this beginning of the "Indian Summer :"

"They were in the midst of a wilderness, untrodden by civilized man. The native forests spread around them, with only here and there a detached glade, which the Indian tomahawk had levelled, or the fisherman cleared for his temporary hut. There were no houses inviting to repose ; no fields ripening with corn ; no cheerful hearths ; no welcoming friends ; no common altars. The heavens, indeed, shone fair over their heads ; and the earth beneath was rich in beauties. But where was their home ? Where were those comforts and endearments, which that little word crowds into our hearts in the midst of the keenest sufferings ? Where were the objects to which they might cling to relieve their thoughts from the sense of present desolation ? If there were some, who could say with an exile of the succeeding year, 'We rested that night with glad and thankful hearts that God had put an end to our long and tedious journey through the greatest sea in the world,' there were many whose pillows were wet with bitter, though not repentant tears. Many a father offered his evening prayer with trembling accents ; many a mother clasped her children to her bosom in speechless agony. The morrow came ; but it brought no abatement of anxiety. It

was rather a renewal of cares, of sad reminiscences, of fearful forebodings."

When Francis Higginson arrived in 1629, there were only six houses, besides that of Governor Endecott, and these, says the historian Bentley, were not on the land now called Salem. In 1632 there were but forty families; but in 1633, when the inhabitants of the towns in the vicinity of Boston began to emigrate, such as arrived at Salem were more easily persuaded to remain. In 1634 the town began to flourish. It was during this year, or the year following, that Roger Williams built him a large and commodious house, second only to the one built for the Governor. This house, after the wear and tear of two and a half centuries, is still standing, and is in excellent preservation. Every descendant of the original occupant and owner should make a pilgrimage to this hallowed place, and view the "Meeting House," where he preached the Word, and the dwelling where he entertained his loving friends, and where the happiest hours of his domestic life were spent.

Leaving the old church, described in our previous article, and returning along Essex street, across Washington street, to the western corner of Essex and North streets, we stand before George P. Farrington's drug store, or apothecary shop. This is the original Roger Williams House, known in the annals of Salem witchcraft, as the "Witch House." For many years it has been an object of attraction for visitors from all parts of the world, on account of its connection as the residence of one of the judges, with the tragedy of 1692, which is such a blot on the fair page of our New England history. Recent investigations by gentlemen connected with the Essex Institute, prove beyond a doubt that this is the house built and occupied by the illustrious founder of Rhode Island, and which he made over to Thomas Mayhew, and afterwards to John Joliffe, as security for a debt to Matthew Craddock. It afterwards came into the possession of Captain

Richard Davenport, whose administrators sold it to Jonathan Corwin, in 1675, when it was thoroughly repaired. The original contract between Jonathan Corwin and Daniel Andrew, in 1675, for alterations and repairs, is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester. A copy of it was published in the Bulletin of the Essex Institute for April, 1870. In 1746 it was again altered and repaired, a new roof being built, the back part of the house raised to two stories, and the porch taken away. A picture of the house, as it was before this second alteration was made in 1746, is in our possession. An engraving of it, and also of the old meeting-house, would be a most acceptable gift to the many descendants of Williams, scattered throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Let us enter this famous house. Through the kindness of Mr. Jesse F. Upton, the gentlemanly clerk, we were enabled to examine thoroughly every part, and even with a lantern to explore the cellar, and note carefully the chimney and foundations. The original rooms measure as follows: Eastern room on the first floor, 18 x 21½ feet; room over it, 20 x 21½ feet; western room on the first floor, 16½ x 18 feet; room over it, 16½ x 20 feet. The chimney is 8 x 12 feet. Within the spacious fire-places were formerly placed huge logs, the ruddy blaze of which diffused light and heat, and contributed to the cheerfulness of the groups that so often gathered beneath the hospitable roof to hear the gifted Welshman tell of his early trials in Old England, and to discuss the duties of magistrates, and the power of the law over the "first table." In each of the eastern rooms three stout hewn timbers, one foot in thickness, of solid oak, so hard that a nail breaks on their unyielding surface, cross the ceiling. Two like timbers cross the ceilings of the western rooms. The line of the old roof is plainly visible on the eastern face of the chimney in the garret, and shows that the pitch of the roof was very steep. The only part of the outside of the

house which retains its original appearance is the western part of the front on Essex street, with its projecting upper story. The bricks covered with clay, with which its sides were originally filled, still remain, giving evidence that there was at first no plastering.

Just west of the house was the owner's ten-acre lot or corn-field. Here, while hoeing his corn, he doubtless used to stop, and resting on his hoe, discuss across the fence with his neighbors the great questions of the day. A massive stone church, where Unitarians worship, now stands on one corner of this field. In his famous letter to Major Mason, written in 1670, from Providence, Williams thus alludes to his house and lands: "When I was unkindly and unchristianly, as I believe, driven from my house and land and wife and children, in the midst of a New England winter, now about thirty-five years past, at Salem, that ever honored Governor, Mr. Winthrop, privately wrote me," etc. He had at this time two daughters, the elder, Mary, born in August, 1633, at Salem, according to Bentley, but according to Knowles and others, at Plymouth, and Freeborn, born in October, 1635. She was therefore an infant when her father "left town." In another letter Williams adds: "I mortgaged my house in Salem, worth some hundreds, for supplies," etc. Four or five hundred pounds was a large sum of money in those early days, equal to twenty-five or fifty thousand dollars at the present time. This proves that the owner, previous to his banishment from Massachusetts, was a man of property.

Mr. Upham thus closes his report to the Essex Institute on the history of this remarkable house: "Here then, within these very walls, lived two hundred and thirty-five years ago, (now two hundred and fifty-one,) that remarkable and truly heroic man, who, in his devotion to the principle of free conscience, and liberty of religious belief untrammelled by civil power, penetrated in midwinter the depths of an unknown

wilderness to seek a new home ; a home which he could find only among savages, whose respect for the benevolence and truthfulness of his character made them then, and ever afterwards, his constant friends. From this spacious and pleasant mansion, he fled through the deep snows of a New England forest, leaving his wife and young children to the care of Providence, whose silent 'voice' speaking through the conscience, was his only support and guide. The State which he founded may ever look back with a just pride upon the history of Roger Williams."

IV.

THE Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, in his chapter in the first volume of the "Memorial History of Boston," thus writes: "But the considerations which induced Winthrop and the other signers of the Cambridge Agreement to come over to New England, were of no mere private or personal character. They had relation to the condition of England at that day — its social, moral, religious, and political condition. Charles I. was just entering on that course of absolute government which brought him at last to the block. Forced loans and illegal taxes were imposed and extorted. Buckingham had just fallen beneath the stroke of an assassin; but Stafford stood ready to replace him as the tool of despotism. Laud, already Bishop of London, and virtually Primate, was asserting the Divine right of Kings for his master, and assuming the whole power of the Church for himself. Puritanism was his pet aversion. Parliament was dissolved, and the King's intention announced of ruling without one. Proclamations, Star Chamber and High Commission Courts, were to be the only instruments of government. The Marshalsea and the Gate-House were crowded with gentlemen who had refused to yield to arbitrary exactions."

It was under these circumstances that Governor Winthrop and other leading Puritans, persuaded that God would "bring some heavy affliction upon the land and that speedily," provided a "shelter and a hiding place" for themselves and others. In a paper drawn up by Winthrop entitled, "Reasons to be considered for justifying the undertakers of the intended Plantation in New England," is the following:

“3. It is the revealed will of God that the Gospel should be preached to all nations, and though we know not whether these Barbarians will receive it first or no, yet it is a good work to serve God’s providence in offering it to them (and this is fittest to be done by God’s own servants) for God shall have glory by it though they refuse it, and there is good hope that the posterity shall by this means be gathered into Christ’s Sheepfold.”

It will thus be seen that the spreading of the Gospel and the conversion of the Indians were prominent objects in the minds of the New England Fathers. Williams had doubtless conferred with Winthrop on these subjects while in Old England. It is certain that he gave himself to the work of converting the Indians during his stay in Salem and at Plymouth. While at this latter place he had favorable opportunities of intercourse with the Pokanokets, who inhabited the territory of the old Colony of Plymouth. This tribe of Indians included several subordinate tribes, among whom were the Wampanoags, over whom Massasoit, and afterwards his son, Philip, of Mount Hope, were chiefs. He also formed an intimacy with Canonicus, the Narragansett Sachem, and with his nephew, Miantonomo. Their residence is said by Gookin to have been about Narragansett Bay, and on the island of Conanicut. Williams made frequent excursions among these Indians, to learn their manners and their language, and thus to qualify himself to promote their spiritual welfare. Writing to Governor Winthrop, from Plymouth, in 1632, he says: “I am no elder in any church, no more nor so much as your worthy self, nor ever shall be, if the Lord please to grant my desires that I may intend what I long after, the natives’ souls.” His whole subsequent life, indeed, furnished evidence of the sincerity of the declaration in one of his letters: “My soul’s desire was to do the natives good.” In a letter written near the close of his life, he says: “God

was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit to lodge with them in their filthy, smoky holes, even while I lived at Plymouth and Salem, to gain their tongue." His "Key into the Language of America," published in 1643, and dedicated to his "dear and well-beloved friends and countrymen in old and New England," is a lasting monument of his linguistic tastes, and of his perseverance and self-sacrificing labors.

In his letter to the Commissioners in 1677, to whom Williams was accused of unfair conduct respecting the lands, he says: "It is not true that I was employed by any, was supplied by any, or desired any to come with me into these parts. My soul's desire was to do the natives good, and to that end to learn their language (which I afterwards printed), and therefore desired not to be troubled with English company." He adds, that "out of pity, he gave leave to several persons to come along in his company." The lands, he states, were procured from the Sachems by his own personal influence. Among the advantages which he enjoyed in his negotiations he enumerates the following: "1. A constant zealous desire to dive into the natives' language. 2. God was pleased to give me a painful, patient spirit, etc. 3. I spared no cost towards them, and in gifts to Ousamequin (Massasoit), yea, and all his, and to Canonicus, and all his, tokens and presents, many years before I came in person to the Narragansett, and when I came I was welcomed to Ousamequin, and to the old prince Canonicus, who was most shy of all English, to his last breath. 4. I was known by all the Wampanoags and the Narragansetts to be a public speaker at Plymouth and Salem, and, therefore, with them, held as a Sachem. 5. I could debate with them in a great measure, in their own language. 6. I had the favor and countenance of that noble soul, Mr. Winthrop, whom all Indians respected."

In a deed signed by himself and wife, and dated December 20, 1661, Williams also uses these words: "Having in the year 1634 and in the year 1635 had several treaties with

Canonicus and Miantonomo, the two chief Sachems of the Narragansetts, and in the end purchased of them the lands and meadows upon the two fresh rivers, called Moshassuck and Wanasquatucket," etc. It will be readily seen from these and similar statements that the founding of Rhode Island was largely due to a desire on the part of Williams to establish a mission among the Narragansett Indians. After his sentence of banishment, which of course precipitated matters, he received permission to remain at Salem till spring. But he entertained company in his house, the several rooms of which, as we have shown in a previous article, were larger than the meeting-house where he had been accustomed to preach. It was understood, says Winthrop, that he preached to his callers, and that he had drawn to his opinions about twenty, who "were intended to erect a plantation about the Narragansett Bay," etc. Whereupon Captain Underhill was sent from Boston with a commission to apprehend him and take him aboard his ship to England. But when he came to the house he found the illustrious exile had been gone three days. This was in midwinter, probably on the 15th of January, 1636.

It is not certain that anyone accompanied Williams on his perilous journey on foot through the forests, although a number of persons were with him a few weeks afterwards. With his pocket compass, and a watch to tell the hours, he set out, taking probably the Boston road, over which he had so often travelled to answer the citations of the Court, until he reached Saugus, eight or nine miles from his brethren of the Bay, when he may have struck off west for a while, and then due south, until he reached the home of Massasoit at Mount Hope, near Bristol. The ground was covered with snow, so that he could not resort to roots or fruit to satisfy hunger, and the bringing down game with a heavy matchlock gun imposed a serious burden. Of course he found shelter with friends in the beginning of his tedious walk of eighty or

ninety miles, and afterwards with the hospitable natives. Yet he must have suffered severely. In his letter to Major Mason, he says: "I was sorely tossed for one fourteen weeks in a bitter winter season, not knowing what bread or bed did mean." And in his old age he exclaimed: "I bear to this day in my body the effects of that winter's exposure."

He perhaps obtained a canoe of his Indian friends, and rowed up and down the bay, examining various localities, and deciding in his own mind the best places for a settlement. Doubtless he rowed up the cove and found the famous "Roger Williams Spring." His language on various occasions implies this. In "Cotton's Letter Examined," he alludes to his "hardships of sea and land in a banished condition." He finally "steered his course" into a little cove not far above the present "Red Bridge" and "began to build and plant at Seekonk." This was about the 23d of April, as the "fourteen weeks" would carry the time from the 15th of January to this date.

The spot, says Knowles, where he reared his habitation was Manton's Neck, near the cove. This statement was made on the authority of the late Moses Brown, who had ascertained the fact "to his own satisfaction." Bliss, in a note to his "History of Rehoboth," adds: "I called on Mr. Brown to know the grounds on which he assured himself of this fact. He told me that some years since he found among the manuscripts of his grandfather a paper, which stated that Roger William lived near a spring on Manton's Neck." There are several springs in the locality, but the one here referred to is in a lot owned at the time when Bliss wrote by Hammond Cole, about fifteen rods east of his house, and about twenty rods nearly north of the house of Samuel Daggett. It is a clear and beautiful spring, and the neighbors still use it as in the early days. The writer has visited it again and again, and drank from it refreshing draughts. Its water in the warmest weather in summer, is

said to be as cool as that of any well. Mr. Daggett, to whom reference is made, is still living, in his 77th year. Here his mother was born in 1776, and here his grandfather lived and kept a store. The traditions of the family are that Williams built his cabin on one corner of their lot, and they point with pride to the precise spot. For the guidance of those who would make a pilgrimage to this spot, it may be stated that Mr. Daggett's house is a corner house, and that the road on which Williams's cabin stood, a few rods beyond, leads to Richmond's Paper Mill, and also Campbell's Cotton Mills.

IN our previous article we left Williams at Seekonk, where he began to plant and build, probably about the 23d of April, 1636. Here he remained two months. But he was still within the jurisdiction of his Massachusetts brethren, and he was advised to remove to the land on the other side of the river, where he would be beyond the claims of any "Patent," and where the country before him would be free. In a short time, to use his own language, "I received a letter from my ancient friend, Mr. Winslow, the Governor of Plymouth, professing his own and others' love and respect to me, yet lovingly advising me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loath to displease the Bay, to remove to the other side of the water, and there, he said, I had the country free before me, and might be as free as themselves, and we should be loving neighbors together."

The precise day when Williams left Seekonk never has been, and probably never can be, satisfactorily ascertained. In his letter to Major Mason he says his removal occasioned him the "loss of a harvest that year." On the 26th of July he wrote a letter to Governor Vane, dated at Providence. It is reasonable to infer that he left during the latter part of June, when the corn had attained a considerable growth, and when it would be too late in the season to plant anew. Historians are generally agreed on this point, and hence June 23d and June 24th have been wisely fixed upon as the anniversary days of the coming celebration.

Embarking once more in his canoe, with his loving companions, William Harris, John Smith, Joshua Verin, Thomas Angell and Francis Wickes, they proceeded down and across

the stream. As they approached the little cove on the west side of the river, between "Red Bridge" and the new bridge just erected, they were hailed by a party of Indians with the friendly interrogation, "What Cheer?" Here the company landed on a rock which for many years has been known as "Whatcheer" or "Slate Rock." The scene of the landing has been embodied in the device upon the official seal of the city. The locality may be found by following Power street east to the river. During our student days, two score years ago and more, this place was the resort of numerous pilgrims, not a few of whom engraved their names on the rock, which stood by the water's edge. Many a time we have bathed in the river, which has since been filled in at this point. The surface or upper portion of the rock itself has been blown into fragments and removed. Some of the fragments have been built up in a circular form on the original rock and enclosed by an iron fence. This is all that now remains to indicate a scene so pleasantly interwoven in our early annals and traditions. Like the "Forefathers' Rock" at Plymouth, it should be preserved and kept sacred, to remind coming generations of the virtues and deeds of our illustrious founders. The land in the immediate vicinity, which for two centuries and upwards remained unoccupied, is fast being covered over with houses.

Reëmbarking at this place, and pursuing their course around the headland of Tockwotton, they passed what are now called India and Fox Points, and entered the mouth of the Moshassuck river. Rowing up this beautiful sheet of water, then bordered by a dense forest, they landed near a spring, which doubtless they had previously found, during their two months sojourn on the east side of the "Great Salt River." This spring, which is called to this day the "Roger Williams Spring," was, until recently, in the back yard of the brick dwelling-house, built by the late Mr. Nehemiah Dodge, and now occupied by Mr. Seagrave. It stands on the corner

of Allen's land and North Main street, nearly opposite St. John's Church. When the street was widened in 1870, the house was moved back, so that the spring is now somewhere near the middle of the cellar, at the foot of the cellar stairs. A pipe connects it with the pump and stone trough on Canal street, so that it still affords a refreshing supply of pure water on one of the great thoroughfares of travel. Near this spring Williams landed; and at this spot the settlement of Rhode Island commenced.

“O call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod;
They have left unstained, what there they found,
Freedom to worship God.”

To the town here founded, says Knowles, Mr. Williams, with his habitual piety, and in grateful remembrance of “God's merciful Providence to him in his distress, gave the name of Providence.”

Let us, says Stephen Hopkins, in his admirable history, recently republished by the Rhode Island Historical Society, view these planters, after their several migrations, now at last settled at Providence. “Let us stand still for a moment and view them in this their very indigent condition; equally admire their sufferings and their patience, and wonder how they could possibly live, quite destitute of every necessary and every conveniency of life; having no magazine of provisions, or stores of any kind; no domestic animal to assist them in their labor, or afford them sustenance; no utensils or husbandry tools to facilitate their tilling the earth; nothing to help themselves with but their hands; nothing to depend on but God's goodness, their own endeavors, and the charity of savages.”

- “ Nor house, nor hut, nor fruitful field,
Nor lowing herd, nor bleating flock;
Or garden that might comfort yield,
No cheerful early crowing cock.”
- “ No orchard, yielding pleasant fruit,
Or laboring ox, or useful plow;
Nor neighing steed, or browsing goat,
Or grunting swine, or foodful cow.”
- “ No friend to help, no neighbor nigh,
Nor healing medicine to restore;
No mother’s hand to close the eye,
Alone, forlorn, and most extremely poor.”

At once the settlers proceeded to provide for themselves a shelter. Probably they lived for a time in log houses rudely daubed with clay, and then, as their numbers increased, erected houses set upon stone foundations, roughly but solidly framed with oak timbers hewn with the axe. Such a house Williams probably had when, as he relates, in May, 1637, he entertained Miantonomo “and his barbarous court.” His house, says Mr. Henry C. Dorr, in his “Planting and Growth of Providence,” was probably the largest of his day. But the whole of the primitive village in the vicinity of the “Spring” has passed away. “The antiquarian researches of sixty years ago,” continues the same author, “failed to identify a single house as a survivor of Philip’s war.” The town was afterwards rebuilt, and the house of the founder was doubtless erected upon the foundations of the original dwelling. The late Philip Allen, who lived opposite, traced these stone foundations years ago, when the old wooden house, which stood over them, was removed to make way for the present Almy house, so called. The “home lot” of Roger Williams extended from “The Town street,” now North Main street, east to what is now Hope street, and comprised about seven acres. A part of it is included in Bowen street. Its average width, says Mr. Welcome A. Greene, who has

made this a special study, is one hundred and twelve feet. Going up Howland street eighty feet, and entering the rear of the Almy house, we stand over the cellar of the original "Roger Williams house." A fine linden tree marks the locality. The late Stephen Randall, Esq., a descendant of Williams through his daughter Mercy, used to say that he had often played about it in his boyhood, when the footprints of the owner were still there, and the "Spring" below bubbled up into a cask set in the ground for public convenience.

Still further up the hill, among the trees of his orchard, was the family burial-ground. Crossing Benefit street, and passing into the rear of the house of the late Sullivan Dorr, Esq., a few feet from the stable door, is the original grave of Roger Williams. It is covered by a finished cap of a heavy stone pillar. Here for nearly two hundred years slept the remains of the Apostle of religious liberty. In 1771 a special committee was appointed by the freemen of Providence, to ascertain the spot where he was buried, and to draft an inscription for a monument, which was never erected. The traditions and records concerning the location of the grave are clear and unmistakable. On the 22d of March, 1860, at the instigation of Mr. Randall, the grave was opened in the presence of Philip Allen, Rev. Dr. Samuel L. Caldwell, Prof. William Gammell, Sullivan Dorr, Stephen R. Weeden, Philip W. Martin, William D. Ely and Hon. Zachariah Allen. The dust, for that was all that remained of the mortal body, was carefully and reverently gathered and deposited in an urn, and the urn placed in Mr. Randall's family tomb at the North Burial Ground. The grave of Mrs. Williams was also examined, and a lock of braided hair was all that indicated where she was laid away.

A singular incident was discovered on uncovering the bottom of Roger Williams's grave. The root of an apple tree had turned out of its way to enter it at the head. Following the position of the body to the thighs it di-

vided and followed each leg to the feet, tender fibres shooting out in various directions. By nature's promptings it had sought and taken up the chemical deposits of the body and turned them into blossoms and fruit. These roots now form a part of the collection in the Museum of Brown University. An account of the grave and its opening was given by Mr. Allen in a paper read before the Rhode Island Historical Society, May 18, 1860.



THE late Dr. Wayland, while preaching one of his celebrated "University Sermons," stopped in the midst of his discourse, and, raising his glasses, remarked that the sentiments to which he had just given utterance might be regarded as at variance with what he had stated in former years on a similar subject. "I can only say," he added, continuing his discourse, "that I am an older man than I was then." The genial editor of the "Book Notes," in his kindly criticism on the first article of these "Footprints," fails to see the connection between the Guinear record and the founder of Rhode Island; and he quotes from the "Biographical Introduction to the Writings of Roger Williams," published twenty years ago, showing that the writer's views now are at variance with the theories then advanced. This is true. In this, our closing article, we propose to review somewhat the ground already gone over, and to state more clearly some of the points in the early life of Williams which are known and established according to the laws of evidence:

1. It is reasonably certain that the founder of Rhode Island was a Welshman. This all his biographers, without any exception, freely admit. No one, so far as we know, has ever questioned this point.
2. It is certain that the Williams family in England is a Welsh family, very ancient in its lineage and very influential, having numerous branches in all parts of the Kingdom. In Burke's "Encyclopædia of Heraldry, or General Armory of England, Scotland and Ireland," edition of 1844, we find described the coat-of-arms of seventy-five distinct families

bearing this honored name, including that of Sir Roger Williams, of Llangibby Castle, in Monmouthshire. Guillim's "Desplay of Heraldry," the oldest and best book of the kind, published more than two hundred and fifty years ago, describes the coat-of-arms of four titled Welsh families, including that of Sir Trevor Williams, of Llangibby Castle, a grandson of Sir Roger who died in 1595. In Burke's "Dictionary of Peerage and Baronetage," edition of 1845, we find given the coat-of-arms and lineage of five Welsh families, the first of which is Williams-Bulkeley, of Penrhyn, North Wales. William Williams, Esq., of Cochwillan, was the first of this eminent family to assume the name of Williams. This was in the year 1473. John, of this family, purchased the home estate of Cochwillan from the Earl of Pembroke, and Penrhyn from his cousin Griffith. He was in holy orders and a Doctor of Divinity; born March 25, 1582; Dean of Sarum and subsequently of Westminster, appointed Lord Keeper of the Great Seal in 1620, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and thence translated to the Archbishopric of York. He died unmarried in 1650. It was in his diocese of Lincoln that Roger Williams is said to have been admitted to orders, and to have had charge of a church or parish. Foster's "Peerage, Baronetage and Knightage of the British Empire," a recent work, published in 1881, describes five families under the name of Williams. Burke's "Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Landed Gentry," a work in four large volumes, published in 1837, also describes five families of Welsh descent. Burke's "Extinct Peerages of Great Britain" describes one family, Baron Williams, of Thame. Burke's "Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies" describes eight families. In all these works on heraldry and genealogy we find the name of Roger but once previous to the year 1600, except in connection with the family of Llangibby Castle. In Burke's "Extinct and Dormant Baronetcies" Roger is mentioned as the third son of Sir David Williams, of Gwer-

nevet, born about the year 1574. Roger was therefore not a common name. Indeed, it was hardly known among the numerous branches of the ancient Williams family. Hence the greater probability that the founder of Rhode Island was named after the brave Welsh officer, Sir Roger Williams, of Monmouth, the first of that branch of the family to adopt a surname. In this connection it may be stated that Cromwell belonged to the Williams family. Morgan Williams, of Welsh descent, married a sister of Thomas Cromwell. He had a son Richard, who was knighted by Henry VIII. by the name of Cromwell, after his uncle, whose heir he became. This Sir Richard had a son Henry, who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth in 1563. Sir Henry had six sons and four daughters. His eldest son, Robert, had a son, Oliver, the Protector, who was born April 25, 1599. He was about the same age, therefore, of Roger Williams, to whom, it is claimed, he was distantly related.

Mr. Rider, in his "Book Notes," says: "Thus far there have been discovered in England and America five men bearing the name Roger, or Roderick Williams, but the founder of Rhode Island has been in not the slightest degree connected with either one." Why he should include Roderick in the five, rather than Robert, Roland or Ralph, we cannot see, unless because Elton finding that a youth of that name was born in Wales in 1606, and educated at Oxford University, identifies him as our Roger Williams. Arnold, in his "History of Rhode Island," shows the absurdity of Elton's reasoning, which the author himself afterwards admitted. In a conversation with the writer a few months before his decease, the distinguished Professor stated that he had been misled by false theories in regard to the birth and education of Williams, and that he was then engaged in the preparation of a new edition of his work. Death interrupted him in the midst of his labors. This was in the year 1870. Another of the "five" came to New England, according to

Savage, in 1630, and settled in Dorchester. He was admitted a "freeman" on the 19th of October of that year, and afterwards he removed to Winsor. He finally returned to Dorchester. About the year 1650 he sold his house to Thomas Thaxter. No more is told of him. The rest of the "five" are probably referred to by Wood in his celebrated "Athenæ Oxonienses." The first, Sir Roger Williams of Monmouthshire, to whom we have already alluded, died in 1595. The second, Roger Williams of Gloucestershire, became a Fellow of Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1572. "I find," Wood adds, "another Roger Williams, later in time than the former, an inhabitant of Providence, in New England," "but of what University the said Williams was, if of any, I know not; or whether a real fanatic or a Jesuit." The Roger Williams that Elton speaks of as having been educated at the Charter House was from seven to eleven years younger than the founder of Rhode Island. A letter recently received from Mr. Wright, of that Institution, dated "Charter House, E. C., 15 April, 1886," says: "The only information contained in our books respecting Roger Williams is that he was elected a Scholar, 25 June, 1621, and ordered to be sent to the University, being a good scholar, on the 9th of July, 1624. In the order for his transfer to the University he is called John Williams." It thus appears that there was some mistake in the first entry, and that it was John and not Roger. John is a very common name in the Williams family.

3. It is certain that Roger Williams was converted in his childhood or boyhood. In an address to the Quakers, dated March 10, 1673, he says: "From my childhood, now above three-score years, the Father of Lights and Mercies touched my soul with a love to himself, to the only begotten, the true Lord Jesus, to His Holy Scriptures," etc. In his reply to George Fox, written in 1676, he speaks of "actual believers, true disciples and converts, living stones, such as can give

some account how the grace of God hath appeared unto them and wrought that heavenly change in them." This he understood to be conversion; "that gallant," as he terms it, "and heavenly and fundamental principle of the true matter of a Christian congregation, flock or society."

4. It is certain that in consequence of his conversion, and of his opposition to many of the forms and usages of the Established Church he was subject to persecution. In a letter to Governor Winthrop, dated Plymouth, 1632, (supposed by Drake to be between June and October,) he refers to himself as "in Christ called, and persecuted in and out of my father's house these twenty years." Here he refers again to his conversion, at the age of 12. If his father was a churchman, as is probable, he would have had little sympathy with the "ranting Puritans or Separatists," and hence, perhaps, the statement, "persecuted in my father's house."

5. It is certain that Roger Williams was born after July 21, 1599. Although nothing can be found in any of his writings relating to the place of his birth, and but little concerning his family or early history, he has several allusions to his age. In a letter published by Backus, dated July 21, 1679, he says of himself: "Being now near to fourscore years of age." Had he been born July 21, 1599, he would have been just "fourscore." Had he been born January 21, 1600 (old style 1599), he would have been, at the date of the letter here referred to, 79 years and 6 months, or "near to fourscore years of age." This was probably about the time when he was born, as we shall see in our next number. In the letter to which we have referred, dated Plymouth, 1632, he speaks of himself as "nearer upwards of 30 than 25." He was at this time about 32 years and 6 months old.

VII.

THE good preachers of the olden time, after exhausting the subject of the text and making their many inferences and practical applications, used sometimes to conclude with "a little more about faith." Our "concluding article" proved too long for a single issue, and we therefore devote this final one to a reconsideration of the points involved in our first number. The facts pertaining to the Gwinear records, as a critic states, are not here given to the public for the first time. In an article published in the Providence Journal, Tuesday, March 13, 1877, after showing the absurdity of Professor Elton's reasonings in regard to Rodericus and Rogerus, and his date of birth, 1606, we alluded to a communication recently received from J. Wingate Thornton, a lawyer of Boston, a distinguished antiquary, and an ardent admirer of the great Rhode Island statesman. He it was, who, in looking over a volume of the publications of the Harleian Society, entitled "Visitation of the County of Cornwall, 1620," found a note to the effect that Roger Williams was the son of William Williams, gentleman, and that he was baptized in the Parish Church of Gwinear on the 24th of July, 1600. This statement we embodied in our article on "The Founder of the State," published in 1881, in the "Biographical Cyclopædia of Representative Men of Rhode Island." We also embodied it in an article which we furnished for Cathcart's "Baptist Encyclopædia," a large imperial octavo volume, published in Philadelphia the same year. The late William R. Williams, one of the most learned and brilliant of all our writers, in his "Lectures on Baptist History," published in 1877, claims that he was born in

Wales, that he was related to Oliver Cromwell, and that he was named after the great British commander, Sir Roger Williams, of Monmouthshire. He gives, however, no data respecting his birth. Indeed, no writer up to the present time has done this, unless we make exception in our favor.

So much interest is manifested in this Gwinear record, and so much criticism has been made concerning it, many claiming that it is impossible at this late day to find out what has eluded heretofore the search of writers and antiquaries, that we reproduce it in our concluding number. The entire entries read as follows: "Willyam Williams, son of Mr. William Williams, bap. 27 Nov. 1598. Roger, 2d son of William Williams, Gent., bap. 24 July, 1600. Humphrey, son of William Williams, bap. 24 April, 1625. John, son of Humphrey Wyllyams, Gent., bap. at High Bickington, Devon, 1660." Here we have the record of two sons, a grandson, and a great-grandson. It is objected by some that the two brothers to whom Williams alludes in his writings, viz., Robert, who was with him in Providence, and who afterwards removed to Newport, and the "Turkish merchant," are not included in this record. To this it may be said that "William Williams, Gentleman," may have had, like Sir Edward Coke, seven sons. The birth of the oldest is recorded, and also his son Humphrey and his grandson John, they being in the direct line of succession. If Roger was named, as we claim, after Sir Roger, then his baptism would very naturally be recorded as the "second son." Again, the father may have removed to another locality after the birth of Roger. Families, old and respectable, sometimes change their residence, even in England. If Roger was baptised in July, he was very likely born six months previous. This corresponds exactly, as we have already shown, with all the statements which Williams himself makes, respecting his age. If his father was a "Gentleman" in the English sense of the term, he was undoubtedly in good circumstances and able to give

his sons a superior education. Hence young Roger, at the age of fourteen, attracted the notice of the greatest lawyer of the age, by his skill in taking notes of sermons and speeches in the famous Star Chamber of London. It may be inferred from the record, that the father was of the Established Church. He would naturally therefore object to his son's connection in any way with the Puritans. Hence the statement of Williams, "persecuted in and out of my father's house."

In the work to which we have referred, "Publications of the Harleian Society," vol. 9, we find the genealogy of the Williams family in Cornwall. They descended from John Williams, of Herringstone, Dorsetshire, who married the daughter and sole heir of Richard Trevers, and came to Trevers, Cornwall. In a note, the editors, Lieutenant Colonel J. L. Vivian and Dr. H. H. Drake, say: "Besides the Herringstone branch there appears to have been two or three respectable families of the name of Williams in Cornwall, deriving from Devon and Wales, and rendering the identifications very intricate. The Gwinear entries apply chiefly to the family at present seated at Carnanton." We have written to parties in Cornwall, and may perhaps obtain further light on this interesting subject. In regard to the Parish Church of Gwinear, it is, says Murray's "Hand-Book for Devon and Cornwall," "ancient and a conspicuous object on the hills." We have seen photographs both of the exterior and the interior. It is a large and very handsome building of stone. The tower and most of the exterior remain as they were three hundred years ago. The interior has been remodelled, and adapted to the tastes and needs of the present age. The rector, whose post office address is Gwinear Vicarage, is Rev. N. Twmayne Rodd.

In our previous number we referred to the conversion of Williams in his childhood. It was about this time that Sir Thomas Sutton, the wealthiest merchant of his day, founded a hospital, chapel and school, now known as the "Charter

House," which Fuller calls "the masterpiece of Protestant English charity." The "hospital" is for the support of "pensioners," so called, of whom there are eighty in number. None can be admitted under fifty years of age, unless maimed in war. They each have a separate apartment, with proper attendance, and are allowed about twenty-five pounds a year for clothing, etc. The officer in control is called the "Master." The officer at the head of the "chapel" is called the "Preacher." The main feature of the "school" is the "Foundation scholars," the number of which was originally forty.

"These," says Carlisle, in his "Concise Description of Endowed Grammar Schools," published in 1818, "are almost entirely supported by the House during their stay at school, very few charges falling on the parents besides those for school books and the washing of their clothes. They wear the academic cap with a black gown, jacket and breeches. They are generally the sons of gentlemen with large families and moderate fortunes, to whom an academic education is an object. None are admitted upon the Foundation under the age of 10 years nor above 14. The age of the child is certified by an extract from the register of baptisms in the parish where he was baptised." The officer in charge is called "Master of the School." Boys are received upon the Foundation after examination, and upon the nomination of the Governors.

Mr. Sutton died on the 12th of December, 1611. Shortly after his death his nephew and heir-at-law, instigated by Sir Francis Bacon, commenced proceedings to set aside his uncle's grant, and to divert the Charter House estates to uses never contemplated by the donor. These attempts were strenuously resisted by the sixteen Governors, who were all prelates, noblemen and gentlemen of distinction. Prominent among them was Sir Edward Coke, the Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and Bacon's rival and enemy. The

result was that Coke was enabled to certify that the founders' incorporation was sufficient, good and effectual in law. The Governors held their first meeting on the 30th of June, 1613, when they proceeded to make various regulations, and to assign apartments within the institution for the different officers. The following year Nicholas Grey, a man "eminent for his learning in the Greek and Latin languages," was appointed "Master of the School," and the work of instruction commenced. The second scholar received on the Foundation, upon the nomination of Coke, was Roger Williams, as we learn from a statement made by Coke's daughter, Mrs. Sadleir. "This Roger Williams," she writes, "when he was a youth, would in a short-hand take sermons and speeches in the Star Chamber, and present them to my dear father. He, seeing so hopeful a youth, took such liking to him that he sent him to Sutton's Hospital, and he was the second that was placed there." Did young Williams come to London for the purpose of securing the favor of Coke, in order that he might be thus admitted to the Charter House? The results indicate that he did. He was followed by a long line of scholars, including some of the most distinguished men that England has produced. We may name some of them. Richard Crawshay, the poet, a classmate of Williams; Richard Lovelace; Dr. Isaac Barrow; Joseph Addison; Richard Steele; John Wesley, the founder of Wesleyan Methodism; Sir William Blackstone; Dr. John Jortin; Lord Ellenborough; Basil Montague; General Havelock; George Grote; Bishop Thirlwall, and William Makepeace Thackeray. Who that has read the "Newcomes," can ever forget the touching allusion to this school in the closing hours of Colonel Newcome's life.

It was our privilege to visit the "Charter House" during a short stay in London a few years since. The "Great Chamber," supposed to have been built in 1565, still preserves its original decorations. This was the drawing-room,

for half a century before the Foundation of Mr. Sutton, of one of the most exalted noblemen in the kingdom. Here Queen Elizabeth kept her court on at least two occasions, and here King James sojourned on his first arrival in London, in 1603. In 1838 this "Chamber," which had fallen into decay, was repaired and restored to much of its original splendor. The chapel stands to-day, with the superb monument of the founder, as it stood two hundred and seventy-two years ago, when young Roger and his associates knelt beside it and recited the liturgy of the Established Church. A fine view of the "School Room" may be found in Staunton's "Great Schools of England," published in 1865.

How long Roger remained at the "Charter House" we have no means at present of determining. It was usual for the Foundation scholars to proceed to the University as "exhibitioners," between the ages of 17 and 19. He did not enter the University until he had reached the age of 24. Perhaps he employed the intervening time, providing he left school at the usual age, in studying law under the guidance of his illustrious patron. A general impression appears to prevail that he studied law at some period of his life, although no data have ever been given upon which to form an accurate conclusion. He certainly manifested in the various documents which he drew up and in his manifold writings an acquaintance with legal forms, and with general principles. His letters to Mrs. Sadleir show that he was on terms of intimacy with Coke. "My much honored friend," he writes, "that man of honor, and wisdom, and piety, your dear father, was often pleased to call me his son. . . . "How many thousand times have I had honorable and precious remembrance of his person, and the life, the writings, the speeches, and the example of that glorious light." In regard to the impression or belief respecting Mr. Williams' study of the law, as also his connection with Coke, we have this statement of Morgan Edwards, who collected his "Materials for the History of the

Baptists in Rhode Island," in 1771, eighty-eight years after Williams' death:—"As to Mr. Williams, he is said to have been a native of Wales, and to have had his education, which was liberal, under the patronage of the famous lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, under whom he studied law, and by whose interest he got Episcopal orders and a parish. The manner in which he obtained his patronage is said to have been this: Sir Edward, one day observing a youth at church taking notes of the sermon, and the people crowding, beckoned to him to come to his pew; and seeing how judiciously he minuted down the striking sentiments of the preacher, was so pleased that he entreated the parents to let him have the lad." Mr. Edwards, who proposed to the Philadelphia Association the founding of a Baptist College in America, and who secured the first funds for its endowment in England, was himself, it may be added, a Welshman. He collected his information respecting Williams and the Baptist Church of Providence, while attending the early Commencements of the the College, and conversing with aged members of the church.

In the year 1624 Williams entered Pembroke College, at Cambridge, as a Pensioner. In the admission book is an entry, says Arnold: "— Williams, 29 Jan., 1623." This, according to our reckoning, would be February 9, 1624, as the year then commenced on the 25th of March. The illustrious John Milton, who was nine years younger than Williams, entered Christ's College, Cambridge, as a Pensioner, February 12, 1625. The students then, as now, were classed in three grades, viz.: Fellow Commoners, including the nobility and the wealthy; Pensioners, so called because they boarded at the College, and Sizars, consisting of the indigent students. The most numerous class are the Pensioners. Coke himself had entered Trinity College many years before as a Pensioner. If Williams, in common with most "Foundation Scholars," had an "Exhibition" from the "Charter

House," he had an income of eighty pounds a year, and upon graduating twenty pounds extra. The Registrar's book, which through the courtesey of Mr. Bradshaw, the Librarian of the University, it was our privilege in the year 1877 to examine, gives his name in full. From this it appears that Roger Williams was matriculated a Pensioner of Pembroke College, July 7, 1625. He took his Bachelor's degree in 1627. He was therefore in College three years, entering of course one year in advance. Previous to taking this degree he was required, with all others, to subscribe to the "three articles" introduced by James I. in 1613, and which may be found in Masson's *Life of Milton*. They embody in brief the "thirty-nine articles." In the first volume of this "subscription book," under date of January, 1626-7, may be seen the well known autograph signature of "Rogerus Williams."

Here for the present we must leave these "Footprints" of one whom the late Robert Southey, in his closing years a staunch churchman, pronounced "The best and greatest of the Welshmen." In an article in the "Quarterly Review" for October, 1813, he speaks of him further as the one who "began the first civil government upon earth that gave equal liberty of conscience," and as "one of the best men who ever set foot upon the New World, a man of genius and of virtue."

VIII.

ROGER WILLIAMS MONUMENT.

"WERE the characters of great and good men," says the late Hon. Zachariah Allen, in his memorial paper, read May 18, 1860, before the Rhode Island Historical Society, "always estimated by the honors bestowed upon them by their neighbors, very few would be deemed excellent. At the present day, as in the olden time, a prophet might receive honors everywhere save in his own country. This has been the case in regard to Roger Williams, the champion of 'soul liberty,' and the first theologian on this earth who ever theoretically advocated the separation of 'Church and State,' and the first statesman who practically established religious freedom as the constitutional basis of civil government."

Williams died in the spring of 1683, but the precise date is nowhere mentioned. He was buried under arms "with all the solemnity," says Callender, "the Colony was able to show." His remains were interred in a spot which he had himself selected, on his own land, a short distance from the "Spring" where forty-seven years before he had landed with his five companions, and founded Providence. "The smoke of the musketry," says Allen, "temporarily hovering in the air over his grave, formed as permanent a mark of respect as was ever bestowed to honor it. Not even a rough stone was set up to designate the spot." On the 15th of July, 1771, eighty-eight years after his death, the freemen of Providence, in Town Meeting, appointed a committee, viz.: Stephen Hopkins, Amos Atwell, and Darius Sessions, to draft an inscription for a monument, which it was then voted to erect, in

the language of the record: "Over the grave of the Founder of this town and Colony." The population at that date scarcely exceeded four thousand souls, and nothing was probably contemplated save a simple memorial to mark the western slope of Prospect Hill. The swift march of events, the burning of the Gaspee, the quarrel with the mother country, and the great Revolutionary struggle, hindered the project, and no monument was erected.

For nearly a century the subject seemed forgotten. About the year 1850 it was taken up by the "Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers," and under their auspices a course of ten lectures was given to the public by as many gentlemen, gratuitously, the avails of which, it was announced, were to go towards erecting a monument to Roger Williams. A large committee from the Association was also appointed to solicit subscriptions for this purpose in the several wards. The sum received from these efforts was deposited in the Providence Institution for Savings by George Baker, committee. The first deposit, of \$100, was made in 1850. Subsequent deposits, with accumulated interest, swelled this amount, in 1867, to \$250. This, by a vote of the Association, will be available whenever such progress has been made in the erection of a monument as, in the judgment of the Trustees of said Association, will secure its completion. The writer having ascertained these facts, called at the Institution for Savings on the 8th of May, 1886, when he was informed by one of the officials that the sum on deposit, as shown by the books, then amounted to \$707.53.

On the 26th of April, 1860, a meeting of nearly two hundred persons was held in Westminster Hall, in response to an invitation from the late Stephen Randall, Esq., who had made special researches to discover and identify the place of sepulture of his distinguished ancestor. On the 22d of March previous, in the presence of several gentlemen whom he had invited to be present as witnesses, and with the assist-

ance of two experienced superintendents of the public burial grounds, he had caused to be exhumed the remains of Williams, "dust and ashes," and placed them in an urn for temporary re-interment in his own tomb in the North Burial Ground. The whole subject was then submitted by him, for final disposition, "to the numerous descendants of Roger Williams, and to the people of Rhode Island generally; they having all equally enjoyed the blessings of civil and religious freedom, mainly obtained by his bold exertions and patient sufferings."

The meeting was organized by the election of Hon. James Y. Smith as Chairman, and Hon. Amos Perry as Secretary. After eloquent addresses by several distinguished citizens, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

"WHEREAS, Mr. Stephen Randall, moved by filial regard for his distinguished ancestor, has, at no small expense of time and means, very carefully removed from their original, but neglected resting place, to his own tomb the remains of Roger Williams, and now has them awaiting a final resting place; and has also caused to be made an accurate map of the location of the original grave, in connection with the relative site of the house and of the "Spring" of Williams; and has now called a meeting of his descendants, and others interested in perpetuating the memory of his useful life; therefore:

Resolved, That we express to Mr. Randall our cordial approbation for his services, and especially for calling on us to advise and aid in erecting a monument that may properly preserve the name and the remains of the illustrious Founder of the State of Rhode Island and of Religious Freedom.

Resolved. That we invite all who feel an interest in this work to unite with us in carrying out a general plan for erecting a monument that shall be a worthy memorial of Roger

Williams, the apostle of 'soul liberty;' whose memory, like a priceless legacy, should be fondly cherished by all the lovers of freedom throughout the world."

To carry these resolutions into effect a committee of fifteen gentlemen was appointed to report a suitable plan, and the meeting then adjourned to May 10th. At this adjourned meeting a petition for an act of incorporation, under the name of "The Roger Williams Monument Association," was presented, and signed by eighty of the most prominent and influential of our citizens. Among them may be mentioned the names of Francis Wayland, Elisha Dyer, John Carter Brown, William Sprague, Thomas M. Clark, Samuel G. Arnold, William Gammell, Samuel L. Caldwell, Barnas Sears, Thomas P. Ives, Robert H. Ives, Rowland G. Hazard, James F. Simmons, Henry Lippitt, Rufus Waterman, Wilkins Updike and Amasa Manton. At a meeting held on the 5th of June, the proposed act of incorporation, which had been passed at the "May Session" of the Legislature, was duly accepted, and officers were elected as follows: President, Francis Wayland; Vice-Presidents, Elisha Dyer, David King, Elisha R. Potter, William Sprague, Jabez C. Knight; Corresponding Secretary, John R. Bartlett; Recording Secretary, Amos Perry; Treasurer, James Y. Smith; together with a Board of fourteen Trustees. At this meeting, Zachariah Allen, James Y. Smith and Seth Padelford were appointed a special committee to report on the "site, character and cost of a suitable monument."

This committee, on the 9th of July, reported substantially that the "site" be the summit of Prospect Hill, this being near the identical spot selected by Roger Williams himself as his family burial place, and being moreover two hundred feet above tide water. As evidence of the conspicuousness of this summit, the committee in their report referred to the historical fact that during the Revolutionary war a beacon

fire was kindled thereon at the top of a mast, which was seen by the inhabitants of Cambridge, Massachusetts, and of New London, Connecticut. This circumstance rendered the supposition reasonable, that the top of the monumental shaft, nearly two hundred feet high, might be visible from the top of the Bunker Hill Monument, which is two hundred and twenty feet high. In that case, the worthy descendants of the Puritans might there behold the Roger Williams Monument, raised on high as an emblem of the triumph of religious freedom. The committee further recommended that the monument be constructed of granite, or stratified gneiss, and in the form of a Grecian column, in preference to that of a tapering and pointed obelisk, in order that space might be provided within the base for statuary, sculptures, and historical inscriptions; and that a colossal statue, if desirable, might be placed on the summit, in bold outlines in the sky. The cost of such a shaft or column they estimated at from sixty to seventy-five thousand dollars.

The Board of Trustees subsequently advertised for plans, several of which were presented, but none of which were approved, there being a difficulty of agreement in matters of taste. At the annual meetings in 1861 and in 1862 no progress appears to have been made; and an adjournment to the year 1863 was proposed, "in consequence of the distracted state of the times, and the absence from the State of many of the members." Similar fruitless annual meetings and adjournments are recorded up to the year 1865, when Mr. Stephen Randall, despairing of any action on the part of the Association, deposited in the People's Savings Bank, on the 5th of January, the sum of one thousand dollars, for the purposes of a monument. At the annual meeting, held April 16, 1867, Seth Padelford was elected President; Frederick Miller, Secretary, and James Y. Smith, Treasurer. At this meeting Mr. Joseph Rogers presented the following preamble and resolutions, which were adopted:—

"WHEREAS, A descendant of Roger Williams, in a spirit of patriotic liberality, has deposited the sum of one thousand dollars in the People's Savings Bank, in Providence, in trust, to form a fund for the erection of a monument to Roger Williams; and

"WHEREAS, It is desirable that such a monument shall be erected at an early day; now, therefore, to promote that end, and to give the citizens of Rhode Island an opportunity to manifest by their acts their veneration for the memory of the distinguished Founder of our State:

"*Resolved*, That the Board of Managers, (or Trustees,) with such others as they may appoint, be, and they are hereby appointed a committee to solicit and collect subscriptions, etc., . . . to be deposited from time to time in some Savings Institution, . . . until the same, with the accumulations thereof by other deposits, gifts and bequests for that purpose, shall amount to a sum sufficient to procure a suitable lot and to erect the said monument on Prospect Hill, in the city of Providence, between Angell and Halsey streets, and within three hundred feet of Prospect street; the outside wall to be of granite, and not less than one hundred and seventy feet high, besides an ornamental top of any suitable material."

In accordance with the above, the Treasurer, Mr. Smith, made, on the 17th of July, 1867, a deposit of fifty dollars in the Union Savings Bank, of which institution he was the President. This, with subsequent deposits and accumulated interest, amounted on the 23d of April, 1878, to \$1,156.02. The funds were withdrawn at that time by the Treasurer, Henry T. Beckwith, and deposited in the Providence Institution for Savings. There they remain. A note from Mr. Beckwith, dated 13th May, 1886, states that the funds amounted, on the 1st of January, 1886, to \$1,635.27.

Mr. Randall executed a deed of the gift of one thousand

dollars, stating conditions, and giving details of the monument to be erected, which deed is recorded in Records of Deeds, book 170, page 477. The details are embodied in the preamble and resolutions of the Roger Williams Monument Association, adopted April 16, 1867, to which we have already referred. One copy of this deed is deposited with the People's Savings Bank, and another copy with the Librarian of Brown University. The money is deposited in said Savings Bank "to the credit of the President of Brown University, the President of the Butler Hospital for the Insane, and the President of the Rhode Island Hospital, and their successors, for and during the time they severally hold said office of President, as Trustees of the Roger Williams Monument Fund, etc. The terms and conditions are stated in full. Whenever this sum of one thousand dollars, "with such other deposits, accumulations, collections and subscriptions of responsible parties appropriated, for a monument to Roger Williams, to be located and erected as is hereinafter set forth, shall amount to a sum sufficient, in the opinion of said Trustees, to buy the land required and erect and complete such monument, then the said Trustees are empowered and required to end this trust by paying the entire fund hereby created, with its additions and accumulations, to the Roger Williams Monument Association, if it is at that time in their opinion an existing responsible corporation; if not existing or responsible, said Trustees are to close their trust by paying over all the trust funds to some other responsible body incorporated for the purpose of erecting a monument to Roger Williams."

Mr. Randall died in 1874, when his executor, Stephen R. Weeden, Esq., deposited with the Librarian of Brown University his bank book. In addition to his gift of \$1,000, is the gift of Phœbe D. Whipple of \$200, and of John R. Waterman of \$200. These sums, with accumulated interest, amounted on the 18th of January, 1886, to \$4,353.11.

The three funds which we have thus described already amount to \$6,695.91. In fifty years, or in the year of our Lord 1936, when the three hundredth anniversary of the settlement of Providence may be celebrated, they will amount, at 6 per cent. interest, to \$150,000. A monument is sure therefore to be erected in time. Our children may see it, though we of the present generation be denied the sight. Perhaps the numerous descendants of the immortal "Roger," some of whom are known to be more highly favored than their progenitor with wordly possessions, may, at the approaching reunion of the Williams family, devise and execute liberal things, and so hasten the erection of the "Monument to Roger Williams."

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Footprints of Roger Williams.



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